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/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text./

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

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[462]

IV. Trapping

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄̀, ndɨ́ɨ́ I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekɔ̄ɔ̄́dí)
   3. Spring plates (akuí)
   4. Spear trap (efúú)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (asíma, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olá'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olá'm) (1)

1. Not to be confused with the alá'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwáá I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbɔ́ɔ́ I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndɔ̄ɔ́ IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekɛ̀ɛ̀le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlíí I)

•224

1. Pitfalls (etɔ̃̀, ndáá I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekɔ̃̀dí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekɔ̃̀dí-oǎ̀ɔ́b or oǎ̀ɔ́b
   2. ekɔ̃̀dí-esɔ̃̀ŋ́
   3. ekɔ̃̀dí-nkɔ̀k
   4. alɔ̃̀ɔ́a-ekɔ̃̀dí

B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekɔ̃̀dí-o-sɨ̀
   6. ekɔ̃̀dí-o-jɔ́b

C. Spring plates
   7. akñi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--96 E-8 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the ~~osah~~, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they are intertwined with leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (okialkui), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (i) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (g) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (h) -- is held suspended by a lever (e) resting on the forked stick (k). In turn, the lever (e) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (a) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (b) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (c), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (d) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (b) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

• 229 The trap catches the following animals in particular: the hamster rat, Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrunè (kuí); the porcupine, Atherura africana Gray (ngúm); squirrels; the duiker'bok, Cephalophus melanotheus (ngbwū́ń); in the vicinity of water, the dwarf musk deer, Hyemoschus aquaticus Ogilby. (víǒn; plural, lǒn); a number of bird species that live on the ground, such as doves, guinea fowl, francolin (Francolinus squamatus Cass.; ogbwá'), thrushes (Turdus saturatus Cab.; etí'ŭ'), and night rails, Himantornis /121/ /Fig. 70 appears here in the original text/ haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkī'ī'ngū'), whose striking call is associated with the spring trap (1). Finally, monitor lizards are also trapped in these devices now and again.

1. The rail calls:

ma kbwǒl' ekūi
I fall (in the) spring trap,

o-ti - kū
right in, it falls shut (imitation of sound.).

or:

ma	kbwǒl'	ekūidi	ma	kūi.
I	fall in	the trap	-- I	escape.

The ekūidi-esǒ́ǒ́ differs from the osǎ́b only in that there is no fence, and hence it is necessary to attach bait. In it are placed /122/ bananas for lemurs and spotted palm civets, dead rats for the genet, fruit of the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burret (fruit = ngǒk IV) for hamster rats and porcupines, and cassava for the latter as well as for squirrels and field mice.

A similar trap is constructed next to fallen tree trunks (nkǒk) where game trails run beside them. Such a trap is then called ekūidi-nkǒk. Here of course there is no bait.

The aluña-ekūidi (Fig. 70, Drawing 3) is a combination of two spring traps. A small quadrangular area is fenced in, with the exception of two openings, where the traps are placed in such a manner that one trap opens at the front and the other one at the back.

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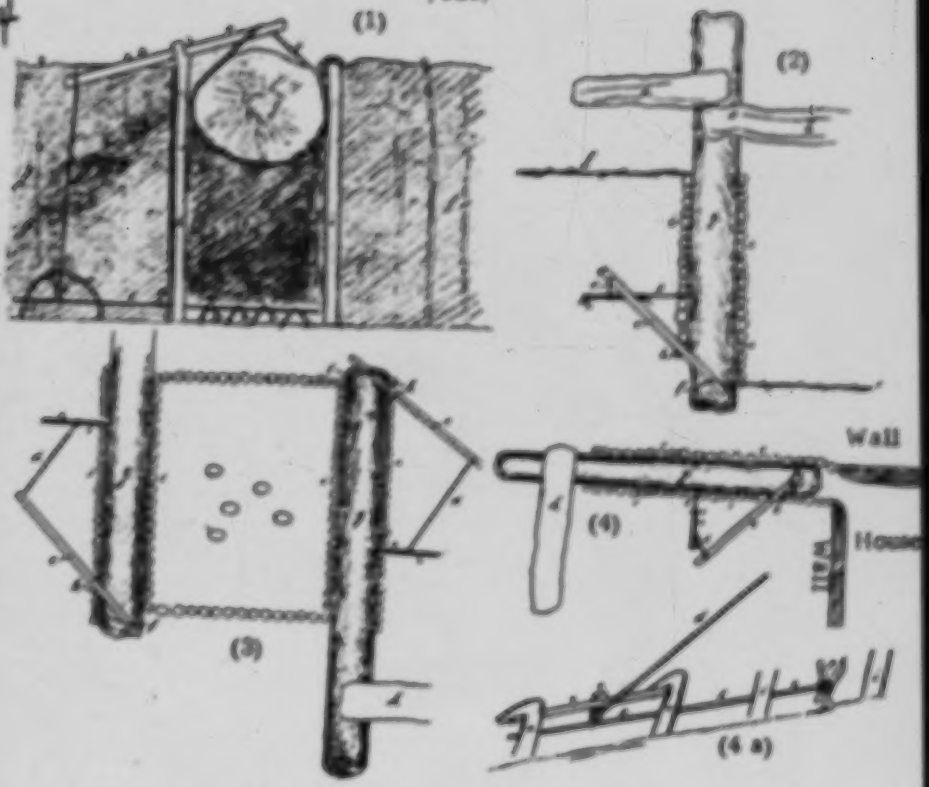

Fig. 70. Spring Traps

Drawings 1 and 2. Spring trap for game, osab, front view and groundplan. Drawing 3. Double spring trap, aluna-ekllidi, groundplan. Drawing 4. Rat spring trap, ekllidi-o-si, groundplan. Drawing 4a. Releasing device.

• 234 In the center of this area fruit of the Guttifera, nsá'ngómó III, is placed as bait. The animals, hamster rats, porcupines, striped squirrels, and mice, see the fruit through the fencing, look for an entrance, and land in the trap.

The rat trap, ekŭdidi-o-si (o si, "below"), is also a spring trap, like the osá'b, and is constructed from the outside against the rat holes at the corners of houses (Fig. 70, Drawings 4 and 4a). Bait is tied to the tip of the vice which extends into the corridor, as Drawing 4a indicates; when the rat gnaws on the bait, the vice is pushed out from under the clamp, and the trap closes.

While the spring traps that we have discussed so far are all very similar, we now come to a trap, the ekŭdidi-o-jó'b (o jó'b, "above"), which from the outside looks quite different although it belongs to the same type. For we have here -- see Figure 71, Drawings 1 and 2 -- a combination of two lever systems which together support a spring beam and which are set up some distance above the ground. A raffia stalk, split in two lengthwise with the flat side (x) upward, is tied to the house wall either horizontally or vertically and fastened to it so that it extends into the room. Along its upper edge are placed two rows of raffia leafstalk strips (i), which represent the fence of the other spring traps, flanked by two forked props (k) on the side toward the interior of the house. The levers (e) rest on these forked props. Only one lever is held by the clamp whose releasing device is attached on the side to the raffia stick (see Drawing 2). The free end of the other lever is placed under the first. Both levers support a spring beam (g) which, therefore, in contrast to the other spring traps, is balanced over the corridor in such a way that the rat has access from both sides. This spring beam is pulled down by a beam (h) which is attached to it on either side by strings and suspended below the raffia stalk; this happens when the clamp device is released. Bait is attached to the device as in the case of the ekŭdidi-o-si. Usually /123/ /Fig. 71 appears here in the original text/ the trap is left standing awhile before the trigger device is installed, and cassava is sprinkled along the corridor so the rats will become accustomed to running over the trap. For the same reason it is not used for a time after it has caught a number of rats (1). /124/

1. The technical expressions of the

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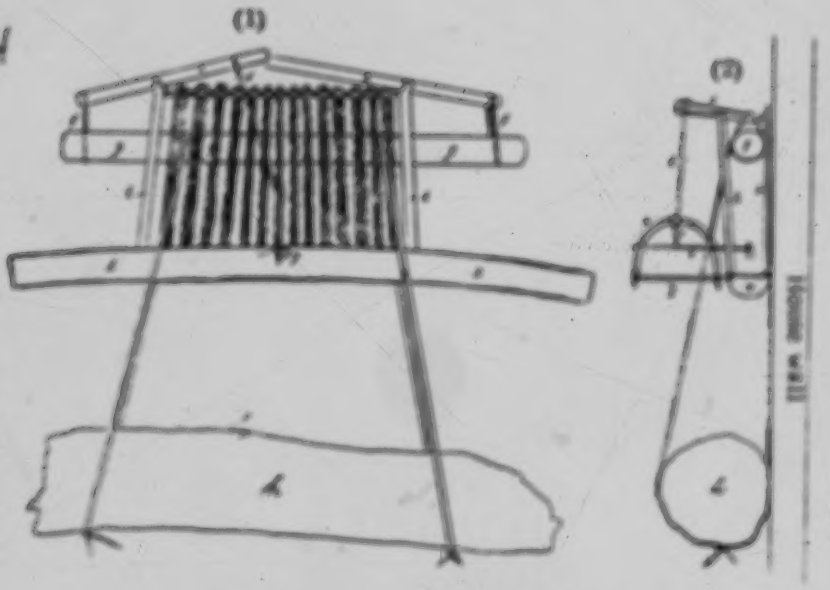

Fig. 71. Rat Trap, ekŭidi-o-jeb.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Pangwe for the various parts of the spring traps are:

(a) trap spring = ekŭ'leyá Ntum, ekuluga Fang, from a kulu = to bend;

(b) vice = mvŏnegan Fang, from mvŏnegan = the younger, that is, the trap spring is the older because it is the first that one has to plant in the ground and only then comes the vice;

(c) clamp = asŭá, from asŭá = the tooth;

(d) clamp string = nkō-asŭá, from nkō = string, asŭá = tooth, clamp;

(e) lever = mbĭ'meyá I Fang, from a bĭme = to strike, to close, also called mbŏn I;

(f) spring beam string = nkō-ekŭidi, from nkō = string, ekŭidi = spring trap;

(g) spring beam = mvŏk IV;

(h) weight beam = etĭ'dega Fang, dĭ'deja IV Ntum, from a tĭde = press down, weight down;

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(l) spring beam fence = mvŋbege
Fang, ŋ̀bɛ́ŋ̀ IV Nkum, from
a ŋ̀b = to string together;
(k) lever prop = ata(k) -ekŋ̀kŋ̀, from
atak = forked stick;
(l) trap fence = mŋ̀begə-maŋ̀, from
a mŋ̀b = to shut, maŋ̀ = fence
spring trap;
(m) bridge in the corridor = akŋ̀n, from
akŋ̀ = flow;
(n) corridor = akŋ̀, from akŋ̀ = lair.

3. Spring plates

The spring plate, abui, is a very simple trap. Instead of the corridor and the spring beams, it has only a raised plate (nka-abui) weighted down with lumps of lime or stones. The plate is made of rattan palm, Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum (nkɔ̀ɔ̀e), and falls down on the animals (smaller rodents) when they touch the vice which extends under the plate and is baited (camava).

4. Spear trap (elŋ̀)

The spear trap is constructed for elephants in those places where the elephant spoor runs between two suitable trees. The trap consists of a heavy iron spear connected directly with the clamp by means of a rope and hanging over a branch in such a way that it strikes the elephant in the back of the neck when the latter touches the rope which is stretched out as an extension of the vice. Usually, the spear does not wound the elephant mortally; then the animal runs and frequently evades the trapper.

5. Simple noose snares

The following noose snares are distinguished.

1. Free noose
   (a) Ground noose (alŋ̀mɔ̀-o-ŋ̀)
   (b) Tree noose (alŋ̀mɔ̀-o-jo'b)

223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (nʉ̄m)

The ground noose, (ɛ̄jima -o-) (o-si a below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus batesi Winton (ɔ̄ndʉ̄n). It is fastened to a cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ɔvɔ̄ŋ). Such snares are called ɛ̄jima-o-ɓɔ̄b (o ɓɔ̄b a above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (kʉ̄nʉ̄k IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /125/

The hand noose for parrots (nʉ̄m I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangʉ̄me III Fang, ongɔ̄kɔ̄n Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

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6. Draw traps

(a) Ground draw traps

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The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

I. Traps constructed over a pi

1. ɛ̄jima
2. nɔ̄ɓɔ̄ I Ntum, nɔ̄ɓɔ̄k Fang, nɔ̄bogɔ̄ Fang
3. ngʉ̄(k)-olʉ̄m

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II. Traps without pits

4. ndikié, III
5. oliime-sé
6. yiipa Fang
7. olame-mi6
8. efiiga, apfi,á
9. ewuk,a

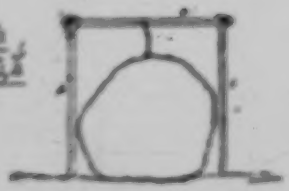

Fig. 72. Ground Noose, asima-o-si.

All these ground draw traps, just like the tree draw trap and the lemur trap, are distinguished by the fact that a short elastic stalk planted in the ground, the draw stick (miige Fang), is held fast by the clamp, and as soon as it is released, it draws the noose tight as it springs up. The ground draw traps are, generally speaking, designed for larger game, like antelope, and differ from one another by slight variations in form and construction, by the presence or absence of a covered pit, which makes it more difficult for the animal to free itself, and so forth. The first three forms, esima, mebo, and ngi[k]-oliim, are closely related; each of them has a pit. /126/ /Fig. 74 appears here in the original, also Fig. 73/. As an example, we shall describe here in greater detail the esima (Fig. 73). It consists of a strong, elastic stalk (f), to the top of which are attached a clamp (c) -- by means of a rope (d) -- and a noose (g), which in the case of these large traps is made of twisted raffia piassava. The clamp holds fast the draw stick, which is bent down when the trap is set up, by means of the releasing device already familiar from the spring traps (in the illustration it is attached on the side). The noose is set in front of the pit between the props (k) and is connected by a rope (h) to the trap spring which in many cases is double. Then sticks are laid across the pit onto the vice. The entire apparatus, especially the pit with the sticks and the part of the noose which is lying on the ground, is carefully covered up with dry leaves, etc. Furthermore,

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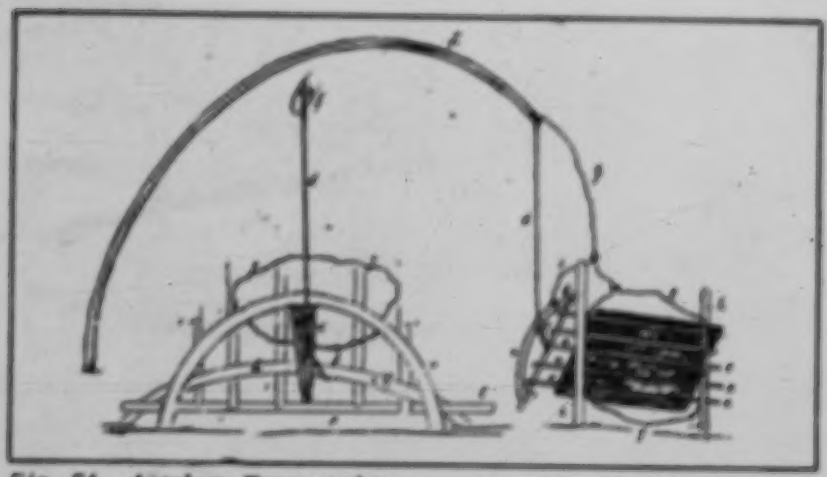

Fig. 74. Antelope Trap, nsobogo.

Fig. 73. Antelope Trap, esuma.

a special dry leaf is tied over the end of the draw stick at the point where the clamp rope and noose are attached to it. In short, the entire trap is skillfully made as invisible as possible to the game. Now, if an animal steps on the leaves, the sticks (e) press down the vice (b), the clamp (c) snaps up, and the draw stick with the noose, which tightens, springs up as far as the rope (h) permits. The trapped animal is thereby pressed against the trap stick and asphyxiated, especially since it is left hanging halfway down in the pit. Depending on its strength, the trap is suited for antelopes, boars, small leopards (Felis servalina Puch., ebĭ6), civet cats, and genets.

The nsŏ̄bogŏ (Fig. 74) differs from the above-mentioned trap only in that the noose is tied to the clamp rope near the clamp and is made to run under /127/ a prop (h), but moreover it is placed directly on the ground. For this reason, the animal is usually caught by its front legs in this kind of a trap.

The ngă'[k] -olam is -- so one might say -- a small nsŏ̄bogo designed only for porcupines, and it is set by boys when they want to obtain quills for their little fishing hooks (ngă'k):

224 hence, its name. In it, however, duikerbok and guinea fowl are also caught.

We encounter another method of releasing the spring in the draw traps called ndakiē (Fig. 75) and the potamogale trap, olame-zē (Fig. 76). In these traps, the animal -- as in the spear trap for elephants -- pushes against a string which constitutes an extension of the vice (ndakiē), or it pushes against the vice itself (olăme zê). In place of the trap string, a gallows is frequently erected, as in Figure 75. The name ndakiē signifies an iron house, i.e., a very firm house (ndā = house, ekiēi = iron); at the same time, the use of the name varies, and in some regions it is extended to similar traps, such as the viē'n, for example. The olăme zê is designed solely for the peculiar potamogale (zê) Potamogale velox Du Chaillu. From the drawing (Fig. 76) the mode of construction will doubtless be apparent even without a description. /Figs. 75, 76 and 77 appear here in the original text./ A noteworthy feature, however, is the use made of the potamogale's characteristic habit of leaving its droppings at quite specific points along the river bank. These areas are surrounded by a semicircular fence (e), while the noose and the extension of the vice behind it close off the open side.

The trap viē'n (Fig. 77) is distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that the animal has to walk under the releasing device which is set up in the form of a tall gallows. As it walks through, it touches the string which is stretched from the /128/ /Fig. 78 appears here in the original text/ middle of the vice (at the top) to a post stuck in the ground (e) and in so doing releases the clamp device. In the case of this trap the ropes (h) again prevent the noose from springing all the way back. As regards the animals to be trapped, the viē'n is exactly like the eŭuma, the nsōbogo, and the ndakie; this doubtless explains why the name ndakie can be extended to these "antelope traps."

The olame-nsĭ'n (Fig. 78) is constructed on the model of the viē'n, except that it is always set up on a small rise of ground which is hollowed out under it. On the floor of the little hollow a rat is placed as bait. The noose is lowered into the hollow through a hole in the top, along with the rope attached to the vice and tied around the rat.

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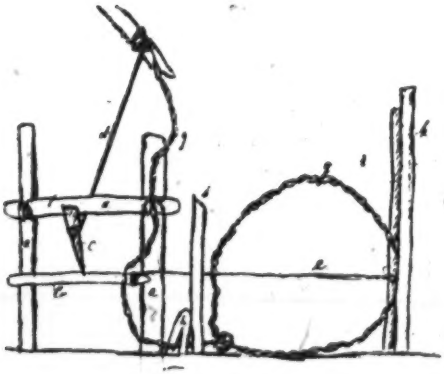


Fig. 75. Antelope Trap, ndakie.

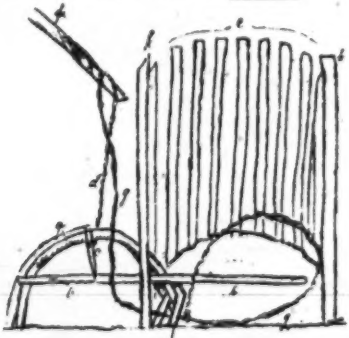


Fig. 76. Potamogale Trap, olam e ze.

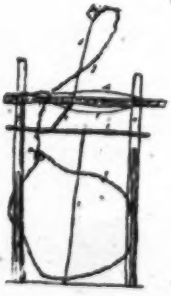
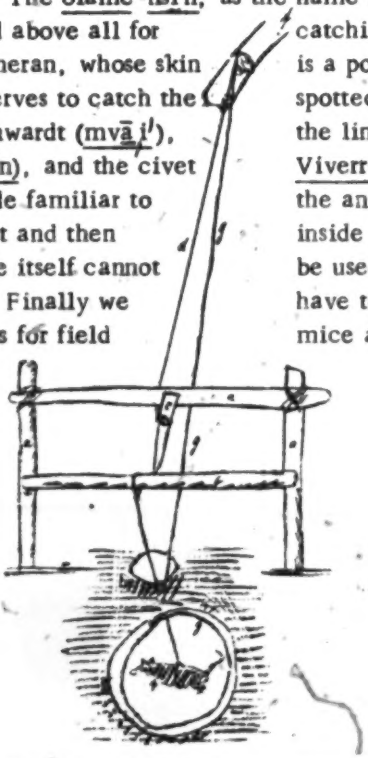


Fig. 77. Draw Trap
for Antelopes, vien.

224 The olame-nsí'n, as the name indicates (nsí'n = genet), is used above all for catching the genet, Genetta aubryana Pucheran, whose skin is a popular ornament. In addition, it serves to catch the spotted palm civet Nandinia binotata Reinwardt (mvā i'), the linsang Poiana poensis Waterhouse (ojǎn), and the civet Viverra civetta (žǒe'). The place is made familiar to the animal by putting rats first in front and then inside the hollow, if the animal's cave itself cannot be used.

Finally we have to mention two smaller draw traps for field mice and birds, respectively. These are the efúga and ewuǎs, where the noose is placed around the trap spring (a) with the help of a stick (i), so that the animal is jammed against the trap spring (see Fig. 79. The efúga is designed for mice and other small rodents and, like the potamogale trap is set up in front of a fenced-in area with bait (cassava) inside. Furthermore, this trap is used to get rid of the troublesome Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (ngbǎwuǎ III Ntum) which steals chickens. "When the bird has caught a chicken and then drops it again as people rush toward it, the trap is quickly set up and the hen placed inside it; then the robber frequently comes back to get the hen and in the process gets caught in the trap." /129/



223 Fig. 78. Genet Trap, olam e nsín.

The bird trap ewuǎs (wuǎs = an imitation of the sound of the noose snapping shut), Figure 79, is constructed in exactly the same way, except that it lacks a fence and is designed for doves, guinea fowl, francolins, and night rails. /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text./

223 Haarvögel /Ger.,?/, there are the Ixonotus guttatus Verr. (esá sa, Fang, edžăndžă Ntum); the doves, Chalcopelia afra L. (odū') and Turtur semitorquatus Rüpp. (žūm); glossy starlings, species of Lamprocolius (kpă'ń); and hornbills, Lophocerus fasciatus Shaw. (okŏgbwā'i) and camurus Cass. (nkūkūe I, Ntum). The bait for all these birds is the fruit of the Euphorbiacea Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abúi Ntum, abuí Fang), the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atü ī'), the Euphorbiaceae Antidesma laciniatum Muell. Arg. (okŏbezŏ) and Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efüö'le), the Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., and other types of Ficus (etŏb-o-ĵŏb Fang, ejē'i, Ntum). One can see traps set up everywhere in the Alchornea bushes or in clearings where the above-mentioned trees grow. If a boy takes a lot of trouble and watches over his trap, he can catch up to ten birds a day in one trap. He takes the prey home to his mother who keeps the larger birds, such as the doves, and lets the children have the smaller ones. /131/ /Fig. 81 appears here in the original text./

(c) Lemur trap

224 A very ingenious and well-contrived trap is the lemur trap, mbún I, ebás I (from bū = to lie, mbuh = cross beam, that is, a beam that lies on top of another), so named because the trap is set up against a trunk laid over a clearing (Fig. 81). It (Fig. 82) is a genuine draw trap, with the draw stick (f), the clamp (c) and the clamp rope (d), and two nooses (g) attached to the draw stick. The device attached to the horizontal trunk (x), however, requires explanation. It consists of a piece of raffia leafstalk, one end of which is planted in the ground and the other end split and pushed under the branch in such a manner that the latter rests in the crack. As Drawing 2 shows, both halves are later tied together (y). Above the stem each of the two forked ends is cut in such a way as to form five prongs (Fig. 82, 1-5) of which the middle one (3) is left considerably longer than the others. Both center prongs (see Drawing 2) are connected with each other by a stick and thus form the gallows

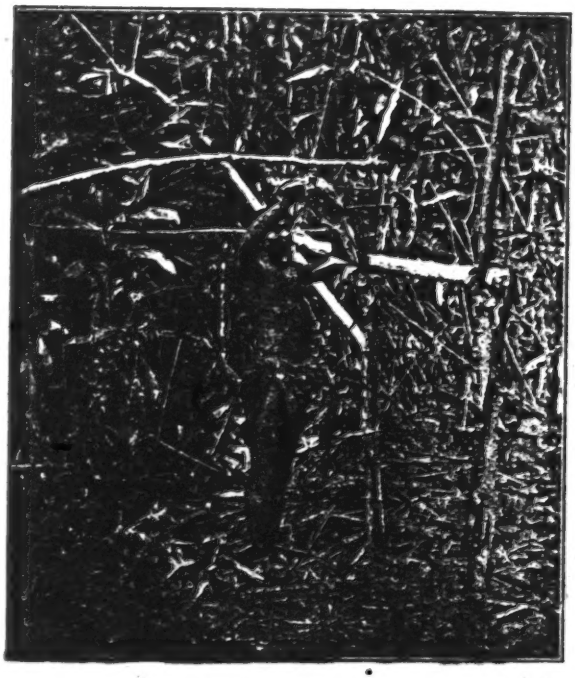


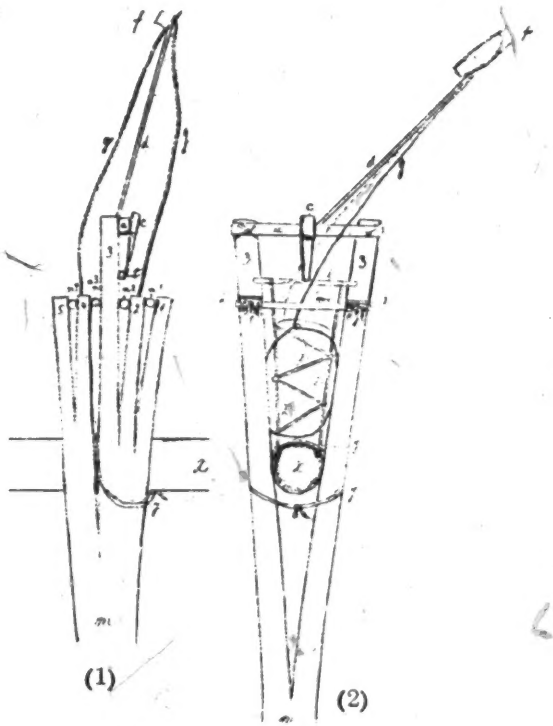
Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

1. Potto, Perodicticus batesi

• 224



(1) (2)

Fig. 82. Lemur Trap.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (masatsi'di I and III); Spitznagelmaki /Ed., sharp-clawed lemur?/ Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsɛ̄'i, I); Stumpfnagelmaki /Ed., blunt-clawed lemur?/ Sciuruscheirus gabonensis Gray (emám); and dwarf lemur Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozám, odžám).

the spotted palm civet, Nandinia binotata Reinw. (mvā'l' Fang, mvē'i' Ntum) in a somewhat open area, for instance, a strip of

224 bushes along the trail where the animals go through them. A breach is made in the strip of brush and over it is placed the branch needed for the construction of the trap. Usually from three to seven traps are set up next to each other.

In addition, large traps of the same kind are used for long-tailed monkeys, and these are likewise set up in the forest only over paths or clearings.

7. Francolin trap

223 The francolin trap, ndǒn (Fig. 83), like the traps of the previous class, includes a draw stick, but the clamping device is a completely different type. The part of the trap on the ground is nothing more than a round, not very deep hole; in the wall of the hole and over against each other are stuck two horizontal raffia sticks (a) under which is pushed the clamp (c) with the noose rope (2)

2. In this case the same rope that is tied around the clamp is again used.

directly attached to it, like the trap nsō bogō. The noose is laid around the hole. A few kernels of maize /133/ or groundnuts are scattered as bait around and in the hole. The francolin sticks its head into the hole and in so doing touches the clamp which flies up and at the same time draws the noose over the bird's head. Aside from the field francolin, Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ'), doves also are caught in this trap which is as simple as it is effective. /Fig. 83 appears here in the original text./

In passing I may mention that chickens, if they cannot be seized, are also caught by means of such a trap, erected ad hoc, or by a leaf bag in which a kernel of maize is placed. To get at the maize, the chicken puts its head inside the bag and is caught before it can free itself (1).

223 224

1. Aside from those mentioned in connection with the spring trap, the technical expressions for the parts of the

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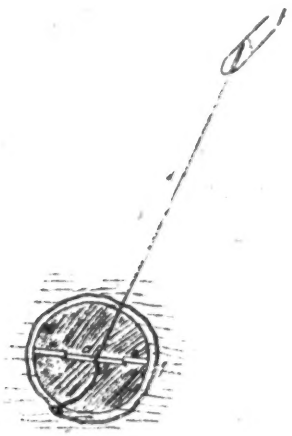

Fig. 83. Francolin Trap, ndon.

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draw traps are as follows:
(a) Trap spring = trap gallows (see under spring traps);
(b) Vice (see under spring traps);
(c) Clamp (see under spring traps);
(d) Clamp rope (see under spring traps);
(e) Clamp-stick poles or clamp-stick rope = ndɛ̄'nejă IV, ndɛ̄'mejă' IV;
(f) Draw stick = miâge Fang, mɛ̄ɛ̄ jă III Ntum;
(g) Noose = ekŏ'ɛ̄ Ntum, ekbwɛ̄ Fang, nkīb I;
(h) Noose holder = mbɛ̆'le-ekbwɛ̄ Fang;
(i) Noose prop = sū-ekŏ'e Ntum;
(k) Peg = engŏn;
(l) Fenced-in area (with efuga, and so forth) = ndźī b I, from a dźī b = to close.

For the lemur trap:

224

(m) Trap stick = atăk;
(n) Cross sticks = olī Ntum, evɛ̂ Fang;

●224 (o) Bait.

For the tree draw trap:
Branch on which the trap is built = obə̌mega;
(b) Clamp stick with its extension = otə̌mejá;
(i) Clamp-stick holder = ntə̌be-ɔ́sū III;
(d) and (c) Clamp rope with clamp = okə̌lejă.

8. Bow traps

They have a form of the bow which draws a noose tight as it springs back. There are three kinds of such traps: /134/

1. ekiə̌'le;
2. bɔ́gɔ̌ III;
3. bow trap of the Jaunde, ebā'dē.

The ekiə̌'le is the most widely known of these traps (Fig. 84, Drawing 1). The bow (b) is tied to a horizontal piece of liana or to a branch (a); two ropes are fastened to the lower end of the bow at (c), the clamp rope (d) with the clamp (e) and the noose rope which is tied in a slip knot to the other arm of the bow at (h). The clamp (e) presses a short vice (f) against the upper end of the bow and the clamp rope, and thus the bow is held up. On the lower end of the bow cassava is placed as bait, and a leaf bag is put over the whole thing. Additional cassava placed upon the liana is designed to familiarize the animal with the path leading up to the trap. If then an animal runs from there through the loop, it will touch the vice, the bow will be released, and this loop will be pulled tight. The trap is set up mainly in the forest for mice and other small rodents, and otherwise it is used in the house to catch rats.

The second bow trap of the Fang, bɔ̌gɔ̌, is used for the same animals (Fig. 84, Drawing 2, a-c). It is even simpler than the ekiə̌'le. A leaf bag (b) is attached to one end of the bow; the ropes (c) and (d), which are tied to the other end of the bow, are run through this bag at various points. The foremost rope (b) is

●224 placed as a noose around the opening of the bag; the back rope (c), which is supposed to bend the bow, is run through the hole drilled in the end of the bow for this purpose and is secured in back by means of a knot. Behind this rope -- if one looks from the front into the bag -- there is a piece of cassava (e) attached to a little stick. The animal gnaws through the rope in order to get at the bait; the bow springs back, and the noose is drawn tight so that the rat is pressed against the upper part of the solid leaf bag and strangled.

A very attractive and skillful invention is the bow trap of the Jaunde, ebá'dě (Fig. 84, Drawing 3). It is basically different from the previous traps mentioned. Here we see the clamp rope (b) attached to a bent strip of raffia (a) like a bowstring. As in the case of the francolin trap, the clamp rope is fastened with a knot in the middle of the clamp (c) and then extends beyond that into the noose. The latter ends in a knot to which is tied, in turn, the holding rope (e), which is slung around the bow. When the trap is set up, the tip of the clamp is pushed under the knot, while on the other side it is prevented from slipping back by means of a second holding rope (f) and by the pressure on the inside of the bow. As soon as a rat runs through the noose, the latter is pulled down slightly, the tip of the clamp slides out from under the /135/ /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text/ knot as well as from under the holding rope (f), and the noose draws tight around the rat.

The trap is set up in the house behind the beds or in other places where the rats like to run.

9. Civet trap (nlíne-žō'ɛ́)

The traveler in the Pangwe region will frequently encounter in the villages a rope stretched across the square. From the middle of this rope hangs a wooden dog bell or a bundle of empty snail shells. This is not, as one might think, a charm against evil spirits or a signaling device, but an alarm trap for civets, Viverra civetta poortmanni Pucher. (žō'ɛ́ IV). At one end the rope is tied to an isolated pole; at the other it is fastened to a tree stump behind the owner's house. Suspended from it just a little above the ground is

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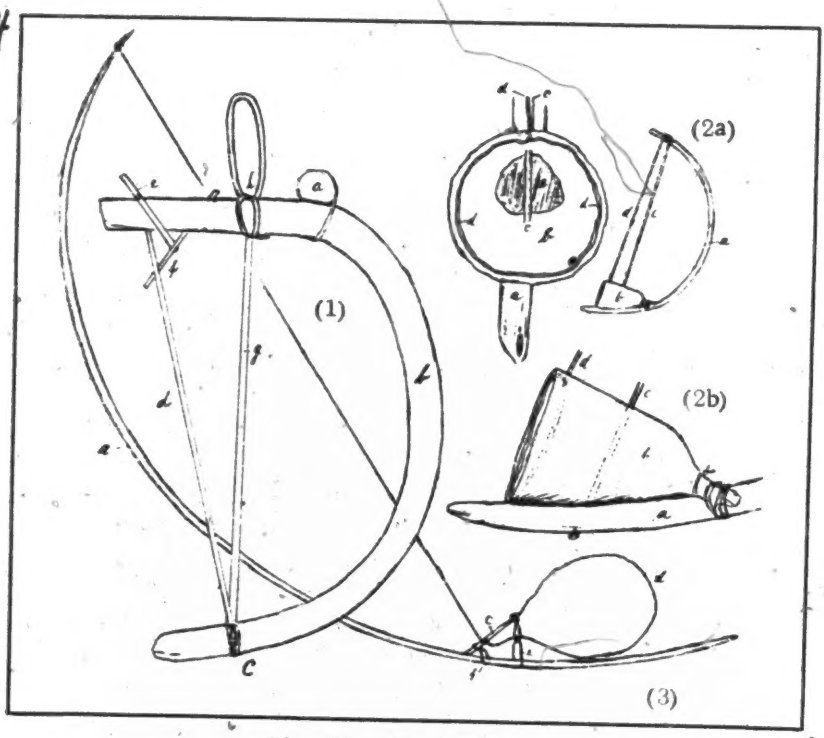

Fig. 84. Bow Traps
Drawing 1. ekiele. Drawing 2. bogo (a, the entire trap; b, side view of the lower part; c, the same from the front). Drawing 3. Bow trap, ebade.

/136/ a number of dead rats. When at night the civet snatches at a rat and in so doing pulls at the rope, the bell rings or the snail shells rattle and awakens the master of the house.

V. Hunting

Skillful as the Pangwe are as trappers they cut a poor figure when it comes to skill as hunters. They can never be called a hunting people; indeed, compared with the coastal peoples or even with the Pygmies, they are like pitiful Sunday hunters.

224 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results [41] that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus [136] occipitalis Daud. (abă'jĕk), and many other animals which because of their shy nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I still recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "Massa, osok, osok!" (osok = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (malăn, ăngungu) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;
2. Drive of big game into nets.

285 In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
324 pines (ngŭm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngŭm) made of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsăn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nšŭm I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvŭ I, mvūno IV, angŭn e mvŭ, edūn e mvŭ, ongō,lă'-mvŭ, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

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[141]

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

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Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in area is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bă, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebù'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebŏ̆ŏ̆) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abŏ̆(g)e, bŏ̆ŏ̆ = to carry.

224 672 682 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe, it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition, where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kiŋ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ nã), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyũ a ngã III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũẽ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǫ́ń, elǫ̌ǫ̌), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zǫ̌le IV, zǫ̌.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence

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177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

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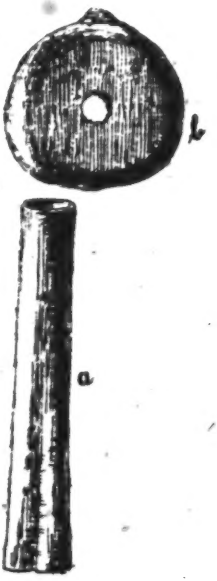

Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endzǐ á-mbǎn) (2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvim); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvú'ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfá'ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elō'm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enō'ezǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajī'ē); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (zǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebā'm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ'). /(8) is omitted by the author./

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒ̌k), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (mvūvū') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ́ǹ ngā), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ́ǹ betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ́ǹ tít), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ́ǹ a kǐǹ tīt), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ́ǹ mvǘ) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njěm osǒ̌k, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ošüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekĭ]ă', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aŋ̀gũŋ̀gu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

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[789]
[224]

Fig. 64. Medicine on trees, so that a hunting drive may be undertaken during the full moon, something which is actually prohibited. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

and cold. "If the moon is cold and has no light of its own, how is it that you can see it? After all, you cannot see people dressed in white either when everything is dark!" This objection the Pangwe counter with the reply: "On earth it is dark, but in the sky it is bright, that is, nothing obscures the view there!"

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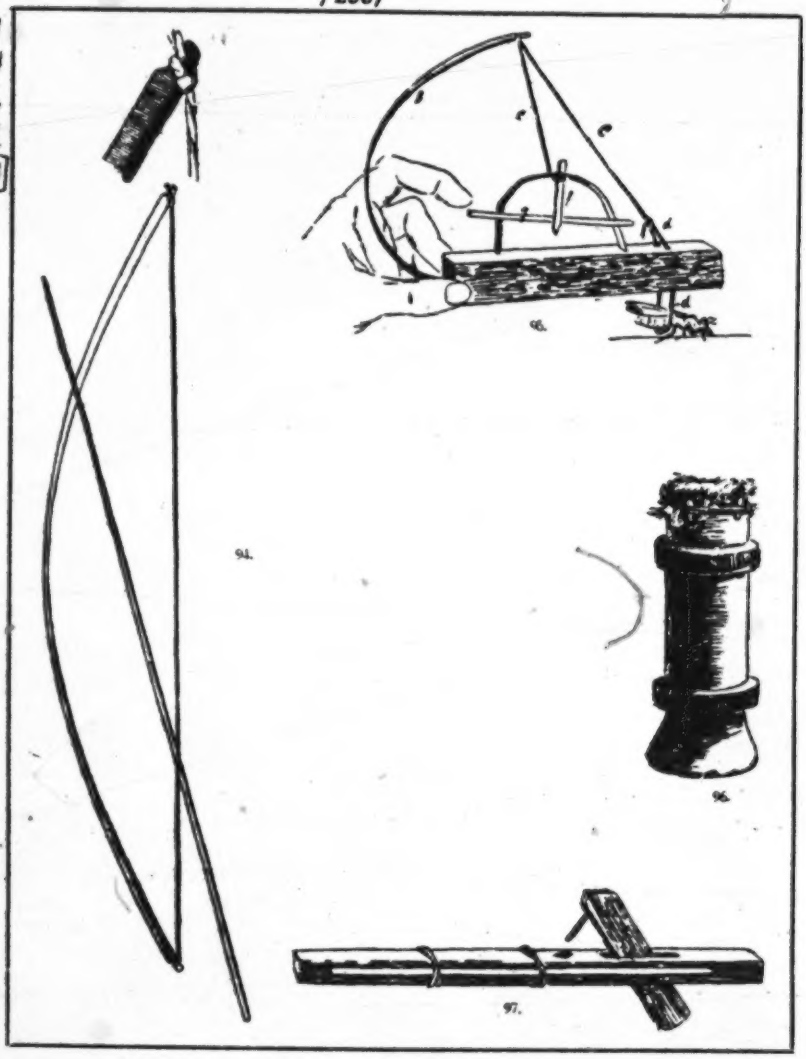

Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

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de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

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2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

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Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
262

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but
221 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam
262 streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds
[177] of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

[273] Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyañ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[788] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

575 [786] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, [789] difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[842] 224 [831]

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

721 Everyone then prepares for battle.

V. Large Hunting Expeditions

●224 Apart from war, the principal event in Fan life consists of large hunting and fishing expeditions, organized by the whole tribe, which are always an abundant source of riches. Since an event of this sort concerns the clan or tribe as a whole, the totem plays a part, but to a rather limited degree.

For individual, private hunts only the individual totem is invoked. The ceremony is very brief, if it can even be called such. It consists, not of homage rendered, but rather of what might be called a preventive ritual. In no case does the hunter want to kill his totem, for that might draw down upon him the gravest dangers and greatest misfortunes. Before going off to hunt, while loading his rifle, he will see to it that his totem is touched against the rifle. Furthermore, if he is undertaking a more important hunt, as for elephant, or a more dangerous one, as for panther, he will mix with his powder a bit of the ashes [554] from his totemic sacrifice. He will then invoke his hunting fetish, often merely by touching it. The main object of these ceremonies is to ask the totem's help and also to keep the totem out of the way so as not to be exposed to any ritual offense, either by unwittingly failing to respect it or by wounding or killing it.

For large hunts the ceremonies will be quite similar, though a bit more complicated. This, in brief, is how big hunting expeditions are arranged: The Fan begin by hemming in a whole forest. Several hundred -- sometimes many more -- men come together and begin by surrounding the chosen forest with a belt of rattan wattles; a creeper winds above the wattling, following the same route, and to the creeper the hunters tie here and there dry leaves of light reeds whose slight rustling when disturbed is enough to frighten the game. There is a break in the barrier at each path into the forest, where a deep ditch is dug and carefully camouflaged by boughs and sometimes so well covered with earth that even the most wary are deceived. A pointed stake is set in the bottom of the

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; furthermore, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

[834] [782] [567]

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

[201]

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

[774]

224 Should the animal be inadvertently killed during the beat for game, it cannot take revenge for the offense, nor can the clan totem do so. By sacrifice and communion all the clan members have become sharers of the totem, which therefore would be taking revenge on itself:

"A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nlèm wuia (He cannot eat his own heart)."

After the meal the hunters get on with the job. They leap over the wattles, then gradually tighten the circle around the forest by means of strong cords so as eventually to drive all the encircled animals into a large clearing, prepared in advance, where they are killed one by one. Sometimes also at this place, an enormous pit has been dug in advance, and the bewildered (1)

1. This beat for game is called ngol, especially when it is for elephants.

animals fall into it.

When they have all been killed, the flaying and disemboweling begins. However, first the chief makes sure that [556] no totem animals have by mischance got into the pit. If so they are carefully removed, placed on banana leaves, and tied up so as to be disguised; the next night they are secretly carried to a distant spot and deeply buried. Yet one animal may be kept out, taken back to the village by the chief, and offered in a further sacrifice. All the hunters partake of it so as to be protected from any ritual offense.

226 Large fishing expeditions are occasions for almost the same ceremonies. Before beginning to dam a river or change the course of a of a stream, a totemic sacrifice is first undertaken: a victim is offered and then the actual sacrifice is made. If by chance the clan totem is a fish, the ceremonies would be identical to those described above.

After the fishing another totemic sacrifice is performed with the customary rites; to neglect this prescription might lead to grave dangers for the tribe.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 224 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

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788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

● 224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

[441] Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ó! Ó tat Ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akóm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *eki*. It is, however, practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiŭ zie nkót.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbóa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nzok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akóm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akóm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bo'besegese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akóm*. Here are three specimens of them:—

(1) *Benza b'abete kobo? Beso benga wog mvé.* Who speaks any more? (*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).